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## Two Kingdoms in a Multi-Tiered Empire: New Spain and New Galicia in the Mid-Eighteenth Century

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# Two Kingdoms in a Multi-Tiered Empire: New Spain and New Galicia in the Mid-Eighteenth Century

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## *Introduction*

This article casts light on the structure of the Spanish empire by focusing on the relations between two American kingdoms, New Spain and New Galicia.<sup>1</sup> New Spain comprised the heartland of colonial Mexico, while New Galicia lay to its northwest and extended to Baja California. The analysis shows that the Spanish empire did not consist exclusively of dominant relations between Madrid/Castile and its overseas possessions. Nor did the empire cascade in importance from the center towards its fringes, as Heribert Münkler has posited for some empires.<sup>2</sup> Instead, core kingdoms, such as New Spain, existed next to Castile and inter-

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to the *Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte* and its director, Dr. Thomas Duve, for receiving me as research fellow during the academic year 2016–2017. Two anonymous peer reviewers gave insightful comments on this article.

<sup>2</sup> Heribert Münkler, *Empires. The Logic of World Domination from Ancient Rome to the United States*, transl. Patrick Camiller (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), viii, 4–11; see also Pedro Cardim, “Political Status and Identity: Debating the Status of American Territories across the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Iberian World,” *Rechtsgeschichte – Legal History - Zeitschrift des Max-Planck-Instituts für europäische Rechtsgeschichte* 24 (2016): 101–116; Pedro Cardim, Tamar Herzog, José Javier Ruis Ibáñez, and Gaetano Sabatini, Introduction to *Polycentric Monarchies. How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony*, eds. Cardim, Herzog, Ruis Ibáñez, and Sabatini (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012), 3–8, argue that all parts of the empire thought of themselves as and were to a point centers; Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, “Introducción. Entre el imperio colonial y la monarquía compuesta. Élités y territorios en la Monarquía Hispánica (ss. xvi y xvii),” in *Las redes del imperio. Élités sociales en la articulación de la Monarquía Hispánica, 1492–1714*, ed. Bartolomé Yun Casalilla (Madrid, Sevilla: Marcial Pons, Universidad Pablo Olavide, 2009), 11–13, emphasizes a decentralized perspective, while Thomas Calvo, “Trayectorias de luz y de sombra,” in *Historia del reino de la Nueva Galicia*, eds. Thomas Calvo and Arístarco Regalado Pinedo (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara and Centro Universitario de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2016), 493–494, argues for an empire of many courts and leading cities, where Guadalajara occupied a mid-level position below Madrid and Mexico City. Horst Pietschmann, “Diego García Panés y Joaquín Antonio de Rivadeneira Barrientos, pasajeros en un mismo barco. Reflexiones en torno al México ‘Imperial’ entre 1755 y 1808,” in *Un Hombre de Libros: Homenaje a Ernesto de La Torre Villar*, eds. Alicia Mayer and Amaya Garritz (Mexico City: UNAM, 2012), 211–233, argues for the devel-

acted with their dependent realms, such as New Galicia. New Galicia insisted on its autonomy, but the viceroy of New Spain used his powers to shape the region by the mid-eighteenth century. The relationship between the two North American kingdoms therefore differed from that between other constituent regions of the empire. The kingdom of Quito, for example, was fully subordinate to the Peruvian viceroy in Lima. For this reason, the Spanish empire can be described as multi-tiered. It consisted of uneven and overlapping relations between a group of core kingdoms and their dependent territories, and their relations developed over time.

Historians Aristarco Regalado Pinedo and Celina G. Becerra Jiménez show in their insightful chapter that Viceroy Marquis of Villamanrique (1585–1590) aimed at “controlling the political life and the institutions” of Guadalajara. Villamanrique sent a small army in 1589 to depose a judge for marrying a woman from his jurisdiction. Yet the Guadalajarans offered resistance, the bishop mediated, and the army withdrew. The two scholars maintain that afterwards, “Mexico City rarely dared to interfere in the internal affairs of the realm of New Galicia. Guadalajara had become ... almost as important as the viceregal capital ... in its political determination, economic dynamics, and judicial patronage power.”<sup>3</sup>

While Guadalajara retained this important role, I argue that the viceroy significantly influenced New Galician affairs by the mid-eighteenth century. The Count of Revillagigedo, viceroy of New Spain (1746–1755) and protagonist of an important reform period, meddled frequently in New Galicia, often against the will of its important ministers. These *audiencia* ministers and elite groups of New Galicia quarreled among each other, and they sometimes strengthened the viceroy’s hand and sometimes actively opposed his actions. The viceroys forged alliances and even detained Guadalajaran *audiencia* ministers and treasury officials. In addition, Revillagigedo responded to local complaints by establishing a treasury in Bolaños, relieving most of Guadalajara’s jurisdiction over the town, and appointing a *corregidor* (district judge). Revillagigedo even suggested suppressing the entire *audiencia* and found a ready ear for this idea in Madrid. Yet when Revillagigedo’s patron, the Marquis of la Ensenada, fell from power in 1754, the episode ended. The *audiencia* of Guadalajara survived and recovered jurisdiction over Bolaños.<sup>4</sup>

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oping and antagonistic eighteenth-century projects of a composite and corporate empire as opposed to a hierarchical nation-state composed of individuals; while Allan J. Kuethe and Kenneth J. Andrien, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713–1796* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), analyze the reform phases of the eighteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Aristarco Regalado Pinedo and Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, “La consolidación de una capital: Guadalajara,” in Calvo and Regalado Pinedo, *Historia del reino de la Nueva Galicia*, 463–465; see also John J. Parry, *La audiencia de Nueva Galicia en el siglo XVI. Estudio sobre el gobierno colonial español*, transl. Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo and Eduardo Williams (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, Fideicomiso Teixidor, 1993), 245–247.

<sup>4</sup> For the extension and jurisdiction of the Guadalajaran *audiencia*, see Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo, Introduction to *La Nueva Galicia en el ocaso del imperio español. Los papeles del derecho de la audiencia de la Nueva Galicia del licenciado Juan José Ruiz Moscoso y su agente fiscal y regidor del ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1780–1810*, eds. Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo and Marina Mantilla Trolle (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán; Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2003), vol. 1, xxxi–xxxiv; Rafael Di-

This review of the regional relations between two kingdoms is based on an analysis of Revillagigedo's micropolitics, drawing mainly on his communications with judges, presidents, *jueces comisarios* (judge inspectors), and treasury officials in New Galicia and his exchanges with Madrid. The *jueces comisarios* reported on their investigations and elucidated daily operations and malfeasance in the treasury. The record is located among Revillagigedo's family papers, microfilmed by the University of Florida Special Collections years ago, the General National Archive in Mexico City, and the Archive of the Indies in Seville (Spain).<sup>5</sup>

### *Jousting with the Audiencia*

New Galicia expanded demographically and economically from the 1650s to the 1750s, with Guadalajara leading the way. In the early seventeenth-century, more than one thousand Blacks and Spaniards resided in the city, while about sixty Native households dotted the Analco neighborhood. Mule trains supplied the city with Spanish textiles and wine, while delivering vinegar, oil, corn, and fish from the region.<sup>6</sup> A deep demographic and economic crisis gripped the kingdom from 1635 to the 1640s. Then cattle raising and agriculture resurged once more, and mining recovered since the mid 1650s. The population also grew palpably. Guadalajara boasted more than 8,000 inhabitants around 1738, and about 200,000 people lived in all of New Galicia by 1742.<sup>7</sup>

The kingdom had originally formed part of New Spain, but gained limited autonomy over time. Guadalajara became the "head and center of New Galicia," as its Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar pointed out in the early seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup> The *audiencia* claimed equal

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ego-Fernández Sotelo, "Las reales audiencias indianas como base de la organización político-territorial de la América hispana," in *Convergencias y divergencias. México y Andalucía: siglos XVI–XIX*, eds. Celina G. Becerra Jiménez and Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2007), 21–68.

<sup>5</sup> Examples of the reemerging scholarship on viceroys are, for example, Francisco Eissa-Barroso, *The Spanish Monarchy and the Creation of the Viceroyalty of New Granada (1717–1739). The Politics of Early Bourbon Reform in Spain and Spanish America* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2016); Adrian Pearce, *The Origins of Bourbon Reform in Spanish South America, 1700–1763* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Antonio del Valle Menéndez, *Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas. Primer Conde de Revillagigedo. Virrey de México. La Historia de Un Soldado (1681–1766)* (Santander: Librería Estudio, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Descripción geográfica de los reinos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya y Nuevo León*, intro. Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas (Mexico City: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1940), 46–50; on Mota y Escobar, see Heriberto Moreno and José M. Murià, *De mediados del siglo xvi a finales del siglo xviii*, vol. 2 of *Historia general de Jalisco*, eds. José María Murià, and Angélica Peregrina (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2015), 456–457.

<sup>7</sup> Celina G. Becerra Jiménez and Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, "Tierras, minas y crecimiento demográfico," in Calvo and Regalado Pinedo, *Historia del reino de la Nueva Galicia*, 444–449; Lilia Oliver Sánchez, "La evolución de la población en el siglo xviii," *ibid.*, 611–621; Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, *L'Ouest mexicain à l'époque des découvertes et des conquêtes (XVIe–XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: Harmattan, 2013), 275.

<sup>8</sup> Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Descripción geográfica*, 43.

status to its Mexican counterpart, and the laws of the Indies also provided in 1685 that the “president of a pretorial *audiencia*, not subordinate to the viceroy,” appointed governors, *alcaldes mayores* [district judges], and officials of the royal treasury until confirmed by the crown.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the canonist Gaspar de Villarroel clarified that Guadalajara belonged to the “pretorial *audiencias* that do not recognize any viceroy in the Indies,” setting Guadalajara apart from subordinate *audiencias* such as Quito.<sup>10</sup> During the *juicio de residencia* (final review of tenure), for example, witnesses from Quito gave testimony on the conduct of Peruvian viceroys, who were nonetheless “truly absent and profoundly far away.”<sup>11</sup> Guadalajarans meanwhile rarely if ever testified on the *novohispano* (from New Spain) viceroys, adding to New Galicia’s distinctiveness in this regard.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the viceroy retained a say. The laws of the Indies also stated that Guadalajara’s “president and *oidores* obey the viceroy of New Spain in everything ... that concerns government, war, and the treasury.”<sup>13</sup> In the mid-eighteenth century, Revillagigedo used these rights to interfere frequently, especially as superintendent of the treasury. For this reason, he labeled Guadalajara’s government “presidential,” as opposed to Guatemala’s fully autonomous “pretorial” realm.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias mandada imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Católica del Rey Don Carlos II. Nuestro Señor [...]*. (1741), facsimile (Madrid: Consejo de la Hispanidad, 1953) [http://www.leyes.congreso.gob.pe/leyes\\_indias.aspx](http://www.leyes.congreso.gob.pe/leyes_indias.aspx) (hereinafter noted as *Laws of the Indies*), book 3, title 2, law 1; see also Parry, *La audiencia de Nueva Galicia*, 190–193, 203–205, 213–215, 245–247; Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo, “Fiscales, oidores, presidentes y regentes de la Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia,” in *Élites y poder: México y España, siglos XVI al XX*, ed. Águeda Jiménez Pelayo (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2003), 23–40; Carlos Garriga, “Concepción y aparatos de la justicia: las Reales Audiencias de Indias,” in *Convergencias y divergencias: México y Perú, siglos XVI–XIX*, ed. Lilia V. Oliver Sánchez (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara; Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2006), 40–41, 55; Fernando Muro Romero, *Las Presidencias-Gobernaciones en Indias (siglo XVI)* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1975), 57–71.

<sup>10</sup> Gaspar de Villarroel [1657], *Gobierno eclesiastico-pacifico, y union de los dos cuchillos pontificio, y regio* (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1738), vol. 2, 420.

<sup>11</sup> Tamar Herzog, “La Presencia Ausente: El Virrey Desde La Perspectiva de Las Elites Locales (Audiencia de Quito, 1670–1747),” in *Monarquía, Imperio y Pueblo En La España Moderna*, ed. Pablo Fernández Albadalejo (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1997), 819–822, 826.

<sup>12</sup> Herzog, “La Presencia Ausente,” 820; for New Spain, see, for example, *Sumaria Secreta* of interim viceroy Juan de Ortega y Montañes, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara (hereinafter abbreviated as Escribanía) 233 A, cuaderno 2; and *Sumaria y Pesquisa Secreta* of the first Count of Revillagigedo, AGI, Escribanía 246 B.

<sup>13</sup> *Laws of the Indies*, book 2, title 15, law 52, similarly law 47. According to Matías de la Mota Padilla, *Historia del reino de Nueva Galicia en la America septentrional*, edited by José Parres Arias and José Luis Razo Zaragoza (1742, facsimile, Guadalajara: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia; Universidad de Guadalajara, 1973), 261–262, the control over the royal treasury fell to the Guadalaran *audiencia* in 1607 but reverted to the viceroys shortly after. In addition, the president appointed all district judges save Zacatecas.

<sup>14</sup> Revillagigedo to Marquis of la Ensenada, Mexico City, 4 June 1752, ACR 347. According to Michel Bertrand, *Grandeur et misères de l’Office. Les Officiers de Finances de Nouvelle-Espagne XVIIe–XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 92, a royal *cédula* from May 1692 stated against the objections of the Guadalajara *audiencia* that the “superintendence of the treasury is the exclusive charge of the viceroy of New Spain.”



Observers perceived a discrepancy between the ideal and the actual functioning of the *audiencias* of Guadalajara and Quito. The president of the Guadalaran *audiencia*, usually a non-jurist, oversaw the court, served as governor and captain-general of the realm, and monitored the Church as its vice-patron. The *audiencia* primarily reviewed the rulings of the lower courts in New Galicia. According to the laws of the Indies, the *audiencia* consisted of four judges and a *fiscal* (prosecutor) who heard both civil and criminal litigation.<sup>15</sup> Yet in 1746, only two judges and the *fiscal* sat on the bench, because their colleagues had been suspended as a result of the court's internal divisions.<sup>16</sup> Kenneth Andrien has observed that Quito's *audiencia* similarly consisted of an "extremely eccentric and fractious group." One judge in Quito, for example, saw the Virgin Mary arise from an *empanada* (meat pie) and attempted to sponsor a mass for "our Lady of the *empanada*." His colleague outdid him by attempting to poison his wife. While no judge in Guadalajara rose to the same level of conduct, its *audiencia* saw its fair shares of imbroglios.<sup>17</sup>

The Marquis of el Castillo de Ayza, president of the *audiencia*, was in part responsible for the problem. This rich landowner owned shares of silver mines in the region and gave loans to gold miners in Mezquital. Allegedly, he did not always play by the rules, for example, when he coined about 1,200,000 silver pesos without paying the crown any taxes. Castillo de Ayza also managed to extend his influence beyond his presidency. When he stepped down in 1743, he was absolved from all serious charges<sup>18</sup> and purchased a second term as president for 18,750 pesos in 1749. Instead of taking office, he installed José Basarte, his son-in-law, as the next president in 1750 in exchange for an additional 6,250 pesos payable to the crown. These two Guadalajarans fortified their hold on the *audiencia*. When Basarte and his predecessor publicly clashed during a bullfight, Revillagigedo ordered the past president to Mexico City, assigned house arrest, and finally mandated him to leave for Spain.<sup>19</sup>

Castillo de Ayza connived with the young supernumerary judge Sebastián Calvo de la Puerta to drive another judge from the court. Calvo de la Puerta, Castillo de Ayza, and three other ministers denounced their colleague Juan Carrillo Moreno as senile.<sup>20</sup> Carrillo More-

<sup>15</sup> *Laws of the Indies* book 2, title 15, law 7.

<sup>16</sup> Bishop of Guadalajara to Fernando Triviño, Guadalajara, 13 March 1746, AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>17</sup> Kenneth J. Andrien, *Kingdom of Quito, 1690–1830: The State and Regional Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 167. Marc Eagle, "Beard-Pulling and Furniture Rearranging: Conflict within the Seventeenth-Century *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo," *The Americas* 68, no. 4 (2012): 467–493, emphasizes conflicts over honor and social standing.

<sup>18</sup> Royal provision to Oidor Domingo Valcárcel, Madrid, 27 Dec. 1746, AGI, Escribanía 402 B; Domingo Valcárcel to king, Guadalajara, 3 Dec. 1746, AGI, Escribanía 393, pieza 5a, fols. 14–23v; sentence of the *sala de justicia* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 23 July 1749, Escribanía 393, pieza 5a, fols. 9–12v.

<sup>19</sup> José Manuel de Castro Santa-Anna, *Diario de Sucesos Notables*. Documentos para la historia de Méjico (Mexico City: Imprenta de Juan R. Navarro, 1854), 4: 74–75; *consulta* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 17 Dec. 1743, AGI, Escribanía 402 A; Juan Gómez de Parada, bishop of Guadalajara to Fernando Triviño, Guadalajara, 13 March 1746, AGI, Guadalajara 106. Mota Padilla, *Historia del reino de Nueva Galicia*, 497, praised Castillo de Ayza for improving public security and water supply.

<sup>20</sup> According to *real cédula* to Francisco de Cajigal de la Vega, governor of Cuba, San Lorenzo, 7 Nov. 1750, in Richard Konetzke, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica*,

no did have some family issues. He forced his wife to withdraw into a convent and fought his father-in-law over the dowry. What was worse, according to Calvo de la Puerta and the other ministers, Carrillo Moreno could not even grasp “matters and concepts of mining litigation and land adjudication and other civil trials which are both frequent and easy to resolve in these provinces.”<sup>21</sup> Calvo de la Puerta described Carrillo Moreno’s conduct in that “various matters worried his mind in these realms and made him ill ... and his dark apprehensions rose to such degree that he kept forgetting his sombrero during his visits and he left without it.”<sup>22</sup> In 1739 a deputy notary even complained that Carrillo Moreno “frightened him that he would kill him with the paper scissors, threatening him and hitting him painfully on the arms and chest.”<sup>23</sup>

The *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies in June 1742 rejected the complaints about Carrillo Moreno’s “dementia,”<sup>24</sup> but the crown recalled him in December 1743. The Council of the Indies then examined Carrillo Moreno and discarded senility as a possibility. Subsequently, the king assigned Carrillo Moreno to a prestigious position on the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade) in Cadiz, while sentencing five of his Guadalajaran enemies to a stinging indemnity of 2,000 pesos each to cover Carrillo Moreno’s travel expenses.<sup>25</sup>

The infighting in Guadalajara strengthened the bishop as a mediator, although formally he had no say in *audiencia* affairs. The bishop lamented in 1746 that one respected judge had left for Mexico City. This judge “contained the other ministers with his prudence and circumspection, and there have been continual disagreements that I have tried to resolve and assuage, so they do not get out of hand, and they all come to see me and complain” about one another. The bishop observed that whole quarrel over Carrillo Moreno had evolved mainly over the “bad faith that they have in each other for puerile and almost ridiculous reasons.” Yet more was awry. Both civil and criminal litigation moved at glacial speed, and there were “prisoners in jail for many years, begging to be hanged and put out of their misery from so many years in prison.” The prelate concluded that appointing some capable ministers would restore order to the bench.<sup>26</sup>

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1493–1810, vol. 3, tome 1 (1691–1779) (Madrid: CSIC, 1962), 249–250, Calvo de la Puerta was a native of Havana.

<sup>21</sup> *Real cédula* to Marquis of la Regalía, Aranjuez, 23 June 1747, AGI, Escríbanía 402 A.

<sup>22</sup> Calvo de la Puerta to king, Mexico City, 12 May 1751, AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>23</sup> Castillo de Ayza to King, Guadalajara, 20 Sept. 1741, AGI, Escríbanía 402 A, fols. 25v–26.

<sup>24</sup> *Parecer* of the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 6 June 1742, AGI, Escríbanía 402 A, fol. 27v.

<sup>25</sup> *Consulta* of Council of the Indies, 17 Dec. 1743, AGI, Escríbanía 402 A; king’s resolution attached to *consulta* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 19 Dec. 1746, AGI, Escríbanía 402 B; Juan Aparicio del Manzano to Marquis of la Regalía, Mexico City, 8 Feb. 1752, AGI, Escríbanía 402, fol. 73–73v. According to *real cédula* to Marquis of la Regalía, Aranjuez, 23 June 1747, AGI, Escríbanía 402 A, the punished ministers were Castillo de Ayza, Fernando de Urrutia, José Cavallero, Martín Blancas, and Sebastian Calvo de la Puerta; see also Mark A. Burkholder and Dewitt Samuel Chandler, *Biographical Dictionary of Audiencia Ministers in the Americas, 1687–1821* (Westport, Greenwood, 1982), 73; Teresa Sanciñena Asurmendi, *La audiencia en México en el reinado de Carlos iii* (Mexico City: IJ-UNAM, 2000), 29–30.

<sup>26</sup> Bishop to Fernando Triviño, Guadalajara, 13 March 1746, AGI, Guadalajara 106; cited extensively in *parecer* of the *fiscal*, Madrid, 30 June 1749, AGI, Guadalajara 106.

As the conflict evolved, Calvo de la Puerta broke with Castillo de Ayza. The rift began when Castillo de Ayza executed a *real cédula* (royal provision) curbing the supernumerary minister's salary to five percent of what he had paid for his position. Calvo de la Puerta felt offended. According to the bishop, Calvo de la Puerta shot back with a memorandum against Castillo de Ayza, "accusing him of offenses, which have no substance, as he confessed to me, and served only to lay fire at the other's house when they sought to burn down his own ... and since then they are irreconcilable enemies." Calvo de la Puerta even carried out his plan against the Marquis of el Castillo de Ayza's wife to "snub the marchioness by denying her the first seat among the judges' wives in a religious gathering."<sup>27</sup>

In return, Castillo de Ayza pointed to Calvo de la Puerta's personal failings and involved the viceroy. First, Castillo de Ayza accused Calvo de la Puerta of embezzling 16,000 pesos when settling a large estate.<sup>28</sup> This charge matched the gambling issues of Calvo de la Puerta, who had squandered 4,000 pesos playing cards in Mexico City and then wasted even more in Guadalajara. Castillo de Ayza claimed that Calvo de la Puerta "wagered on roosters in Sombrerete ... played at public tables in Mezquital, even claiming that a resident died of the loss that he had caused him."<sup>29</sup> According to the bishop, Castillo de Ayza traveled to Mexico City "to pay his compliments to the Count of Fuenclara, viceroy of New Spain, and he gave gifts and attentions as though they were compatriots, and the count publicly showed his appreciation, inviting him to his coach and the palace functions, but nothing has been heard or seen to the effect that the marquis obtained for himself or others" a viceregal order to arrest Calvo de la Puerta. Nonetheless, Castillo de Ayza succeeded. Viceroy Fuenclara (1742–1746) asked Calvo de la Puerta to come to Mexico City in 1743 and prohibited him from returning to Guadalajara. A *real cédula* later confirmed Fuenclara's order.<sup>30</sup>

Five years later, a retired judge of the Guadalupean *audiencia* exhorted Calvo de la Puerta to host the newly appointed judge Francisco López Portillo. López Portillo was passing through Mexico City en route from his position in Guatemala to Guadalajara. Writing in Latin, the retired judge urged Calvo de la Puerta to unite forces as soon as possible, because Castillo de Ayza had begun supporting López Portillo's mother. Castillo de Ayza "generously offered the judge's mother money for the remainder of her penury, anonymously and as much as she needed and was necessary." It fell to Calvo de la Puerta to forestall this alliance

<sup>27</sup> Bishop to Fernando Triviño, Guadalajara, 13 March 1746, AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>28</sup> Calvo de la Puerta to king, San Juan de Ulúa, 17 Nov. 1748; Calvo de la Puerta to Revillagigedo, Mexico City, 7 Feb. 1748; both letters in AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>29</sup> Calvo de la Puerta to king, San Juan de Ulúa, 17 Nov. 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>30</sup> Bishop to Fernando Triviño, Guadalajara, 13 March 1746, AGI, Guadalajara 106. The *real cédula* of 19 Jan. 1747 is referenced in Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 22 July 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 106. See also Calvo de la Puerta to unknown, perhaps Ensenada, Mexico City, 11 Jan. 1746, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos 21003, fol. 21. According to *fiscal* of the Council of Madrid to king, Madrid, 16 May 1749, AGI, Escribanía 245 A, Papeles pertencientes a la Resid.a, fol. 26v, Calvo de la Puerta accused Castillo de Ayza of giving Fuenclara "four or six clay jars with the viceroy's coat of arms," but the *fiscal* argued that "there was no disposition that prohibited a gift of mere attention."



and befriend López Portillo, so that he “may avoid the crooked road and escape from the solvable labyrinth smartly and better with a thread.”<sup>31</sup>

Yet Calvo de la Puerta’s fate took a turn for the worse when Revillagigedo arrived in New Spain. By the fall of 1748, Calvo de la Puerta had idled five years in Mexico City living on three fourths of his salary. Calvo de la Puerta requested permission to sail to Spain and plead his case before the Council of the Indies, although in his view only sitting judges needed such permission. Revillagigedo denied the request, and Calvo de la Puerta absconded to Veracruz anyway. Revillagigedo sent the dragoons, who caught up with Calvo de la Puerta in November on the hacienda El Zapotal, located 40 kilometers south of Veracruz. The Augustine fathers, who owned the hacienda, could not hold off the soldiers, but Calvo de la Puerta escaped to the nearby church of San Cristóbal Alvarado.<sup>32</sup> The soldiers gave the local priest the *caución jurada* (sworn assurance) to transfer the prisoner to a church in Veracruz and the priest assented. They seized Calvo de la Puerta and departed. In early November 1748 at 4 p. m., thirteen dragoons marched Calvo de la Puerta through the streets of Veracruz to his great mortification and “in the view of a variety of people.”<sup>33</sup> The soldiers released him in the chapel of the San Juan de Ulúa fortress.<sup>34</sup>

Not surprisingly, Calvo de la Puerta suspected that Castillo de Ayza pulled the strings in this matter, but this was probably unfounded. Revillagigedo viewed the Guadalupe *audiencia* as a whole with some suspicion and merely followed his orders. In fact, relations improved between Revillagigedo and the disgraced judge, who returned to Mexico City in December 1748. Revillagigedo released Calvo de la Puerta under oath that he remained in the capital.<sup>35</sup> Calvo de la Puerta perhaps even built on his connection with Revillagigedo’s friend, the regent of the Tribunal of Accounts.<sup>36</sup>

In addition, the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies declared in Calvo de la Puerta’s favor in 1749. The *fiscal* maintained that Calvo de la Puerta bore the same blame for misconduct as his colleagues, yet he was the only one who suffered suspension, and “being separated from his position for five years excuses the attempt” of his flight. In addition, “no offense that corresponds to the punishment has been proven ... and there was no complaint over excesses,

<sup>31</sup> Fernando de Urrutia to Calvo de la Puerta, attached in Calvo de la Puerta to king, Mexico City, 16 Dec. 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 106. The letter is in the appendix. See also Urrutia to Calvo de la Puerta, 23 May 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>32</sup> Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 26 July 1750, Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo, microfilm reel no. (hereinafter abbreviated as ACR) 398; Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 12 Nov. 1748; Calvo de la Puerta to king, San Juan de Ulúa, 17 Nov. 1748, the last two documents in AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>33</sup> Calvo de la Puerta to king, San Juan de Ulúa, 17 Nov. 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>34</sup> Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 22 Dec. 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>35</sup> Calvo de la Puerta to king, Mexico City, 25 Dec. 1748; Calvo de la Puerta to king, San Juan de Ulúa, 17 Nov. 1748, both documents in AGI, Guadalajara 106.

<sup>36</sup> Ensenada to Pedro Navarro, Aranjuez, 25 May 1744, AGN, Inquisición 1328, exp. 6, fols. 238v–239, hints at the collaboration between Calvo de la Puerta and Juan Crisóstomo Barroeta, regent of the Tribunal of Accounts, while *consulado* to Manuel Álvarez de Toledo, Mexico City, 11 March 1754, AGI, Audiencia de México (hereinafter abbreviated as México) 2501, complained about the relationship between Barroeta and Revillagigedo.

bribes, or corruption that he may have committed, other than playing cards and having a fiery temper, which convinces us that once mortified his boldness and his judgment matured by age, he could make a fine judge, because he has been gifted with very good understanding and delicate character, and he is very sincere.”<sup>37</sup>

Following this *parecer*, Calvo de la Puerta’s travails finally paid off. The crown named him a supernumerary minister on the Mexican bench in 1755 and a full *alcalde de crimen* (criminal judge) in 1759, albeit with his lower Guadalaran salary. Twelve years after his suspension, Calvo de la Puerta regained his standing, enhanced by the marriage of two of his daughters to the Mexican aristocracy.<sup>38</sup> Subsequently, he positioned himself as a supporter of crown interests. In 1761 he informed Revillagigedo in Spain that he favored a tobacco monopoly for New Spain. José de Gálvez, the *visitador general* (inspector) of New Spain (1765–1771), chose him later to set up the tobacco monopoly in Guatemala.<sup>39</sup>

Viewing these interminable tussles, Revillagigedo suggested drastic changes for the Guadalaran *audiencia*, yet without much success. As figure 2 (see appendix) shows, Revillagigedo had a low opinion of the court. He favored reining in the judges and eventually called for eliminating the *audiencia* altogether in 1752.<sup>40</sup> That suggestion itself was not new. Francisco Seijas y Lobera had done the same in 1702.<sup>41</sup> Yet Revillagigedo had backing for his idea in Madrid. In a confidential letter from 1751, the *oficial mayor* (chief clerk) of the secretary of the Indies claimed that “the *audiencia* of Panama was suppressed” in that year, “and the same will happen with the *audiencia* of Guadalajara, if your Excellency draws up the report.”<sup>42</sup> When Ensenada and his clique fell from power in 1754, however, the Guadalaran *audiencia* survived. Julián de Arriaga succeeded Ensenada as secretary of the Indies, and the *audiencia* recovered much of its authority. The age of venality (purchasing office appointments) in Gua-

<sup>37</sup> *Parecer* of the *fiscal*, Madrid, 30 June 1749, AGI, Guadalajara 106; see also *parecer* of *fiscal*, Madrid, 18 Dec. 1749, *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Castro Santa-Ana, *Diario*, 5: 140; *consulta* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 2 June 1759, AGI, Guadalajara 106. The crown also suspended *fiscal* Juan Aparicio del Manzano for imprisoning the merchant Antonio Ignacio de Mena, but he was reinstated in 1754 with Revillagigedo’s support; Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 6 Oct. 1753, AGI, México 1349; Goyeneche to Revillagigedo, Buen Retiro, 23 Dec. 1754, AGN, Reales Cédulas Originales (hereinafter abbreviated as RCO) 74, exp. 97, fols. 259–273.

<sup>39</sup> Calvo de la Puerta to Revillagigedo, Mexico City, 22 Oct. 1761, ACR 347; Burkholder and Chandler, *Audiencia Ministers*, 65–66.

<sup>40</sup> Revillagigedo to Ensenada, Mexico City, 24 May 1752, AGI, México 1349, though I have not found the report written on 2 Apr. 1752.

<sup>41</sup> Francisco de Seijas y Lobera, *Gobierno militar y político del reino imperial de la Nueva España* (1702), ed. Pablo Emilio Pérez-Mallafina Bueno (Mexico City: UNAM, 1986), 268; Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Discourse and Political Reflections on the Kingdoms of Peru, Their Government, Special Regimen of Their Inhabitants ...*, ed. John J. TePaske, trans. TePaske and Besse A. Clement (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 258, criticized the *audiencia* of Panama; see also Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687–1808* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977), 41; Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964), 92–93.

<sup>42</sup> José Banfi y Parrilla to Revillagigedo, Madrid, 4 Sept. 1751, ACR 388.

dalajara drew to an end too. The successors of president José Basarte did not buy their tenures anymore, and Revillagigedo praised them as well suited for their office.<sup>43</sup>

### *Inspecting the Guadalajaran Treasury*

Revillagigedo's suspicions about excessive tax evasion in Guadalajaran rose too. On March 29, 1749, the crown had ordered a yearly cash cut of all treasuries, yet a royal official in Guadalajara refused to comply in 1751. The royal officials also suspended remitting their annual excess funds to the central treasury of Mexico City, as was their duty. José Basarte and the *fiscal* of the *audiencia* sided with them and gave colorful explanations. They argued that several highway robbers in Celaya, located halfway between Guadalajara and Mexico City, threatened the safe passage of silver. Yet the *acordada*, the rural police force, did not report any particular dangers lurking in that town. In response Revillagigedo sent ten soldiers to Guadalajara to safeguard the transport to Mexico City.<sup>44</sup>

In addition, Revillagigedo appointed Juan Banfi y Villalobos as the interim accountant in 1751 to improve the Guadalajaran treasury. Banfi y Villalobos was selected, because he was the nephew of the *oficial mayor* of the secretariat of the Indies, among other reasons.<sup>45</sup> In February 1752, Banfi y Villalobos complied with his assignment, when he and Basarte walked through the treasury building. They opened the vault and found silver bars, minted coins, and pearls worth 166,464 pesos. The president ordered the officials to provide a register of all debtors, but they refused, arguing that the president lacked the authority to do so. After more discussions, Banfi y Villalobos finally established that the treasury officials had embezzled 230,668 pesos. Banfi y Villalobos' appointment paid off, it seemed.<sup>46</sup>

When Revillagigedo got wind of the affair, he demanded that the Tribunal of Accounts in Mexico City explain why it did not notice the disappearance of almost a quarter million pesos. After all it was the purpose of the Tribunal to verify receipts and glean discrepancies. The Tribunal pointed to the separate bookkeeping of the treasury and the mercury distribution. The officials in Guadalajara had also artfully arranged the receipts to disguise the fraud.

<sup>43</sup> According to William Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 572, note 118, Francisco Galindo Quiñones succeeded Basarte, followed by the former governor of Puebla, Pedro Montesinos de Lara.

<sup>44</sup> *Real cédula*, Madrid, 29 March 1749, AGN, RCO 69, exp. 43; Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 18 February 1752, ACR 354; Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 24 March 1753, ACR 412.

<sup>45</sup> Revillagigedo to José de Banfi y Parrilla, Mexico City, 12 May 1751, ACR 404; Revillagigedo to Ensenada, Mexico City, 8 Feb. 1753, ACR 412.

<sup>46</sup> Report of José de Basarte, Guadalajara, 11 Feb. 1752, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, AGI, Guadalajara 89, fols. 6v–7v; Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 21 Sept. 1754, AGI, Guadalajara 89. The Guadalajaran treasurer was Manuel de Cuevas.

The viceroy was not satisfied and objected to the Tribunal's lax working hours. Revillagigedo ordered the Tribunal to resume its work in the afternoons to catch up with the backlog.<sup>47</sup>

Revillagigedo also commissioned the interim accountant Juan José Ortiz as *juez comisario* (commissioner) to audit the Guadalaran treasury. Ortiz completed the review on 20 December 1752 and found that 296,600 pesos were amiss, almost 66,000 pesos more than according to the first walk-through.<sup>48</sup> Ortiz blamed both the treasurer and a deceased accountant for the loss. In January 1753 Ortiz sent soldiers to detain the treasurer, who "replied that they let him eat first, because it was already time, and withdrawing into his house, he escaped through a secret door and took refuge with the Society of Jesus, and as a result Ortiz confiscated his property."<sup>49</sup> The matter was now in the hands of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Ortiz requested to drag out the treasurer from the Jesuit church to interrogate and punish him, but the bishop declined, and Ortiz and Revillagigedo yielded. If Ortiz had had his way, the treasurer would have restored all missing funds to the crown, lost his property and office, and suffered "perpetual exile from the Indies." Yet Ortiz advised against exacerbating the "scandal, because the bishop publicly vowed to defend the immunity" of the Church. Instead, he and Revillagigedo acknowledged the bishop's jurisdiction in that matter, and in exchange, Ortiz was allowed to question the treasurer on site. The crown later approved the arrangement.<sup>50</sup>

Concluding the proceedings, Ortiz recovered as much for the crown as he could. He sold the treasurer's property and called in any outstanding debts. Ortiz also ordered the treasurer's guarantors to cover any malfeasance, reducing in total the crown's loss to roughly 89,423 pesos. Revillagigedo noted the outcome and ruled for the treasurer's "*dolo* [criminal intent], fraud, and bad faith" in committing *malversión* (embezzlement) and stripped the treasurer of his office.<sup>51</sup> Ortiz returned to Mexico City in May 1754. He had incurred significant expenses in the one and a half years spent scrutinizing books and interrogating witnesses and officials. Ortiz seized 3,000 pesos from the culprits' property to cover his expenses, but the Tribunal of Accounts in Mexico City agreed in June to award him a daily allowance of 12 pesos, akin to what previous treasury inspectors had drawn. Revillagigedo also awarded Ortiz by naming him chief clerk of the viceregal secretariat.<sup>52</sup>

In addition, just before the scandal in the treasury broke, the acting *fiscal* of the Guadalaran *audiencia* began investigating the fraudulent sale of mercury. Royal treasury officials distributed the heavy metal that allowed miners to process silver from ore. The acting *fiscal*

<sup>47</sup> Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 6 Feb. 1753, AGI, Guadalajara 89; Bertrand, *Grandeur et misères*, 121.

<sup>48</sup> Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 21 Sept. 1754, AGI, Guadalajara 89.

<sup>49</sup> Castro Santa-Anna, *Diario*, 4:78.

<sup>50</sup> Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 21 Sept. 1754; *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 17 Oct. 1755, both documents in AGI, Guadalajara 89.

<sup>51</sup> Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 21 Sept. 1754, AGI, Guadalajara 89; inventory of Ortiz, no date, AGI, Guadalajara 89.

<sup>52</sup> Ortiz to Revillagigedo, Mexico City, 25 May 1754, AGI, Guadalajara 89; report of the *mesa de memoria*, Mexico City, 19 June 1754 and report of the Tribunal of Accounts, 19 June 1754, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Castro Santa-Anna, *Diario*, 4: 75.

followed up on the 1751 accusations of a miner that the treasury officials sold the *quintal* (one hundred Castilian pounds/46.03 kilograms) of mercury for more than 120 pesos, while the law fixed the price at 90 pesos. The royal officials also sold to merchants, which was illegal, and ignored pleas for mercury from those they disliked.<sup>53</sup>

The acting *fiscal* dug out a *real cédula* from November 19, 1678, which empowered the president of the Guadalaran *audiencia* to investigate mercury fraud. The *audiencia* convinced the president to delegate his authority to the acting *fiscal*.<sup>54</sup> On December 11, 1751 the *fiscal* began hearing the testimony of miners and merchants. Some witnesses claimed that they had never paid anything above the legal price or added only a minor tip of about two pesos per *quintal*.<sup>55</sup> Yet others had paid too much. One miner in Bolaños blamed Banfi y Villalobos for giving him three *quintales* for “343 pesos in addition to a supplement of 43 pesos;” that is 116 pesos more than he should have charged.<sup>56</sup> Another miner admitted, “moved by his conscience, ... that he contributed additional 200 pesos at the behest of don Juan de Banfi” y Villalobos.<sup>57</sup>

In April 1752 the attorney working for the mercury superintendence in Mexico City reviewed the inquiry. He found that the royal officials including Juan Banfi y Villalobos had not distributed mercury among miners according to need; instead, they “have charged as much as they could, more or less according to demand ... and the testimonies of the witnesses more than sufficiently proved and clarified that offense.” These royalties “are in reality bribes,” and “any insinuation in this matter is criminal and detestable,” notwithstanding a *real cédula* from 29 December 1739, allowing the royal officials to charge three pesos per *quintal* as perks. The attorney suggested to “suspend the royal officials from their offices or at least the distribution of mercury.”<sup>58</sup>

Assuming conservatively that on average the royal officials charged a 20-peso tip per *quintal*, they gained 6,000 pesos from selling that mercury batch. That was a handsome addition

<sup>53</sup> Francisco Javier de Uribarren to *fiscal* Tomás Ortiz de Landazuri, Guadalajara, 6 Nov. 1751, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fols. 13–14.

<sup>54</sup> Reply of *fiscal* José Manuel de la Garza Falcón, 8 Nov. 1751, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fol. 14; *real cédula* to Alonso de Cevallos Villa Gutierre, Madrid, 19 Nov. 1678, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fols., 13–13v; Francisco López Portillo to Revillagigedo, Guadalajara, 23 Apr. 1752, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fols. 9v–11v; Basarte to Revillagigedo, Guadalajara, 5 Apr. 1752, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fol. 12–12v; Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 6 Feb. 1753, AGI, Guadalajara 89.

<sup>55</sup> Testimony of Clemente Bernal, Guadalajara, 11 Dec. 1751 and 26 Jan. 1752, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fols. 19v–20v, 39v.

<sup>56</sup> Testimony of Pedro Avila, Bolaños, 10 Jan. 1752, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fol. 45.

<sup>57</sup> Rodríguez Gallardo to Marquis of Altamira, Mexico City, 28 Apr. 1752, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fol. 62–62v.

<sup>58</sup> Rodríguez Gallardo to Marquis of Altamira, Mexico City, 28 Apr. 1752, AGI, Guadalajara 89, Testimonio ... contra ofiziales reales, fols. 59, 61–64.



for accountants who earned a salary of 1,500 pesos per year. Similar customs reigned in Zacatecas, where customers paid additional 15 to 18 pesos per *quintal* until the 1730s.<sup>59</sup>

The results of the inquiry embarrassed Revillagigedo, because Banfi y Villalobos's had just been appointed to improve the administration of the treasury. Revillagigedo then censured the Guadalupe treasurer, who was "taking advantage of Banfi y Villalobos's innocence ... and used him to attain the spoils with impunity." Revillagigedo also rejected the validity of the seventeenth-century *real cédula*, because only the mercury superintendent in Mexico City should prosecute these fraudulent sales, monitored by Revillagigedo. In his view, the crown had repeatedly affirmed that arrangement in the past years, and he relieved the Guadalupe *fiscal* of his commission for "being an incompetent judge without any jurisdiction." Revillagigedo instead appointed the attorney Juan José Narvarete to investigate the scheme.<sup>60</sup>

Narvarete confirmed the findings of the first inquiry against the royal officials who systematically demanded bribes and favored friends. According to witnesses, the royal officials had distributed 300 *quintales* in the previous months. They charged additional ten to twenty pesos per *quintal* "which were involuntary because they were inappropriate, demanded and requested."<sup>61</sup> One witness testified that a miner's agent was among the first to request mercury, but Juan de Banfi y Villalobos told him that he was too late, whereas "in reality, he was rejected because Banfi [y Villalobos] believed that a miner's agent should not merely contribute the same as the others ... and it was public talk that for 115 to 125 pesos" the *quintales* including tips were sold.<sup>62</sup>

Revillagigedo and Narvarete caught Banfi y Villalobos red-handed and punished him; a notable feat, since actors in a network tended to protect one another. In April 1753 Banfi y Villalobos was marched to the dungeon of the San Juan de Ulúa fortress in Veracruz.<sup>63</sup> Revillagigedo apparently acted similarly in another case. At least according to testimony, Revillagigedo removed from his service a family member whom he saw "in his room in the royal palace, having introduced a set of contraband playing cards, and he never returned" to Revillagigedo's grace.<sup>64</sup> Subsequently, Revillagigedo appointed at least two new officials in Guadalupe to replace Banfi y Villalobos, the treasurer who languished in the Jesuit church, and the accountant who had passed away earlier. One of the appointees "came from Madrid

<sup>59</sup> Frédérique Langue, *Los señores de Zacatecas, una aristocracia minera en siglo xviii novohispano* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999), 79–80. According to Bertrand, *Grandeur et misères*, 29–31, the royal officials negotiated the *regalías* (bribes) on royal *libranzas* (orders to pay), depending on factors such as the social standing of the petitioner and the time of issuance, and they usually amounted to a third to a half of the original amount.

<sup>60</sup> Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 6 Feb. 1753, AGI, Guadalupe 89.

<sup>61</sup> Testimony of Eugenio Francisco de Castro, Guadalupe, 26 Oct. 1752, AGI, Guadalupe 89, Testimonio ... contra oficiales reales, fol. 83v.

<sup>62</sup> Testimony of Miguel del Pulgar, Guadalupe, 27 Oct. 1752, AGI, Guadalupe 89, Testimonio ... contra oficiales reales, fol. 85.

<sup>63</sup> Castro Santa-Anna, *Diario*, 4: 113.

<sup>64</sup> Testimony of fray Pablo Antonio Pérez, AGI, Escribanía 246 B, fol. 528.

with special recommendation of the Lord Marquis of la Ensenada.”<sup>65</sup> The Council of the Indies was pleased with the outcome but nevertheless rejected Revillagigedo’s suggestion to raise the salaries of the officials to reduce the temptation of fraud.<sup>66</sup>

### *Seizing Bolaños From New Galicia*

Revillagigedo and the *audiencia* of Guadalajara also clashed bitterly over the productive silver mines in Bolaños, located 145 km northwest of Guadalajara. In the early seventeenth century, *novohispanos* began to trickle into the region, living side by side with the people whom they usually lumped together as Nayarit Indians. The first silver bonanza took off in 1746. Thousands flooded the valley and turned San Antonio de Tepec and Bolaños into multi-ethnic towns. The migrants toiled in six great mines. More mines sprung up and smaller pits, such as Santa Rosa de Alburquerque, began operating nearby. Settlements also grew around the ore smelting centers.<sup>67</sup>

Castillo de Ayza strengthened his position in Bolaños against Revillagigedo’s wishes. Castillo de Ayza acquired shares of two mines in Bolaños and loaned some miners cash. In addition, he and his son-in-law counted on the *alcalde mayor* of Jerez de la Frontera. The *alcalde mayor* appointed a deputy in Bolaños who competed for influence with the regional captain-protector of the Indians named by the viceroy. Any lawsuit against the interests of the *alcalde mayor* or Castillo de Ayza fell on deaf ears. Revillagigedo complained that “the *alcalde mayor* of Jerez has appointed clients or dependents of the president of the *audiencia* of Guadalajara or the Marquis of el Castillo de Ayza, who served the same office and is also a miner in Bolaños.”<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Castro Santa-Anna, *Diario*, 4: 111.

<sup>66</sup> Revillagigedo to king, 24 March 1753, ACR 412; *parecer* of the *fiscal* of the Council, Madrid, 17 Oct. 1755, *consulta* of the Council of the Indies, 13 Feb. 1756, both documents in AGI, Guadalajara 89. According to these three documents, Revillagigedo named Juan Antonio Gutierrez Herrera, who had served as *contador ordenador* (accountant) of the Tribunal of Accounts, as treasurer of Guadalajara on 12 March 1753.

<sup>67</sup> David Carbajal López, *La población en Bolaños, 1740–1848: dinámica demográfica, familia y mestizaje* (Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2009), 35–38, 103–124, 237–241; David Carbajal López, *La minería en Bolaños, 1748–1810. Ciclos productivos y actores económicos* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2002), 41–42, 46–53; Álvaro López Miramontes, *Las Minas de Nueva España en 1753* (Mexico City: INAH, 1975), 12–13; Álvaro López Miramontes, “El establecimiento del real de minas de Bolaños,” *Historia Mexicana* 23, no. 3 (1974): 408–436; David Brading, “La minería de la plata en el siglo xviii: el caso Bolaños,” *Historia Mexicana* 18, no. 3 (1969): 319, lists 1736 as the founding date of Bolaños. José Miranda, *El tributo indígena en la Nueva España durante el siglo xvi*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2005), 261–262, shows that *novohispano* authorities often offered tribute exemption when unconquered Natives submitted to their rule.

<sup>68</sup> Revillagigedo to Arriaga, Mexico City, 12 Apr. 1755, ACR 455; see also Instrucción de lo que vos, D. Diego Gorozpe y Padilla, in Ernesto de la Torre Villar, ed. *Instrucciones y memorias de los virreyes novohispanos* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1991), vol. 2, 853–854.

The miners in Bolaños took advantage of the situation to evade paying taxes, but a treasury accountant in Zacatecas – appointed by Ensenada – reported the irregularities to Revillagigedo.<sup>69</sup> The accountant noted that several miners in Bolaños avoided paying the royal fifth on the silver in Zacatecas. These miners instead hauled silver through the forbidding mountains to Guadalajara, although that was “more uncomfortable and exposed to robberies” than transporting the precious metal to Zacatecas. The accountant reported these observations to Revillagigedo, paving the way for a larger reform of Bolaños and advancing his career. By the end of the 1750s, the accountant was appointed to the treasury in Mexico City.<sup>70</sup>

Revillagigedo appointed Fernando González del Campillo, accountant of the Guadalajara treasury, as *juez comisario* (commissioner) of Bolaños in 1750. González del Campillo traveled to the mining camp and found six mines in operation, each with 12 to 15 pickmen. He estimated that they produced roughly eighty-thousand marks of silver every year, but the tax declarations in Zacatecas were much lower, depriving the crown of at least eighty-five thousand pesos in taxes. Subsequently, Revillagigedo ordered a factory built in Bolaños to assess and cast the silver into bars on site. He also appointed González del Campillo as its royal official.<sup>71</sup>

Then the crown converted the factory into a treasury, benefitting González del Campillo. In February 1753 Revillagigedo appointed him as treasurer and added an accountant. Both officials drew 1,500 pesos annually.<sup>72</sup> The officials traced the mining production in Bolaños more closely, and miners found it harder to ship silver without taxing it. By the end of Re-

<sup>69</sup> Díaz de Celis to Revillagigedo, Zimapan, 20 Oct. 1748, ACR 378; see also Díaz de Celis to Revillagigedo, Mexico City, 17 July 1750, both documents in ACR 378; king to Revillagigedo, Buen Retiro, 6 Aug. 1746, AGI, México 438.

<sup>70</sup> Report by (probably) José Díaz de Celis titled *Reparos que se manifiestan*, no date, ACR 378. According to Díaz de Celis' *relación de méritos*, Madrid, 7 Oct. 1739, AGI, Indiferente, 148, N. 94, 1, fols. 1–2, Ensenada served as commissary of the navy when he gave Díaz de Celis two certificates of good conduct. According to information by Díaz de Celis, Cádiz, 31 June 1742, AGI, Contratación 5485, N. 1, R. 27, fol. 4v, Díaz de Celis came originally from Santillán near Burgos and Ensenada appointed him treasurer of the Zacatecas treasury. According to testimonies of Tribunal of Account, 1746, no place, AGI, México 1657, Fuenclara named him interim accountant of tribute, which he did not serve. Finally, according to testimony of Juan Crisóstomo de Barroeta, Mexico City, 17 Jan. 1757, and testimony of Manuel de Cozuela, both documents in AGI, Escribanía, 246 B, fol. 27v, 150, Revillagigedo appointed Díaz de Celis as interim accountant of the Mexico City treasury on 17 Dec. 1750, after serving the commission in Zimapan in 1748, according to list of appointments, AGI, Escribanía, 246 A, 1. cuaderno año 1757, fol. 210v; del Valle, *Güemes y Horcasitas*, 486.

<sup>71</sup> Revillagigedo to king, Mexico City, 15 July 1750, ACR 378; *Reparos que se manifiestan*, no date, ACR 378. On the failed institution of a silver bank under Revillagigedo, see Edith Boornstein Couturier, *The Silver King: the Remarkable Life of the Count of Regla in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 58–59.

<sup>72</sup> Royal decree, 4 Sept. 1753, referenced in *relator's* summary attached to *consulta* of the Council of the Indies, no date, AGI, Guadalajara 107. The accountant was Pedro Toral Valdes, according to *informe* del Conde de Revillagigedo, Mexico City, 2 Oct. 1755, in de la Torre Villar, *Instrucciones*, vol. 2, 862. *Relator's* summary of royal decree, attached to reply of the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 25 Oct. 1755, AGI, Guadalajara 89.

villagigedo's term, royal officials calculated that the treasury had collected roughly 1,183,925 pesos in taxes.<sup>73</sup>

Several important miners in Bolaños also asked Revillagigedo to end Guadalajara's jurisdiction over the town, because they opposed Castillo de Ayza and Basarte. One miner's agent lamented that President Basarte unfairly favored his own financial interests in Bolaños, because "the deputy *alcalde mayor* that he appoints in Bolaños is by name only, because all he does is carry out the president's orders." The deputy *alcalde mayor* also failed to supply Bolaños with sufficient grain and unfairly distributed mercury and the Indian labor assignments. In addition, Castillo de Ayza operated the meat monopoly in Bolaños and, according to complaints, "only slaughters young bulls on his hacienda when he feels like it" and even sold rotten fare.<sup>74</sup>

Revillagigedo almost literally copied these complaints into his letters to Madrid. He fumed that almost 12,000 people lived in Bolaños without solid streets, public squares, a prison, or a court house. Not even an appropriate church existed, as only a small chapel that belonged to an hacienda ministered to the miners. The deputy *alcalde mayor* embezzled much of the town funds raised by selling land. Bolaños remained in Revillagigedo's view a "confusion and disorder, gathering people from all parts, cheaters, deserters from work, wayward people of all the kingdom, while the mines lack manpower and the miners pay excessive wages ... and for this reason he has to force Indians to work, although this extreme should be avoided unless there is no other remedy."<sup>75</sup>

At this point Basarte and the deputy *alcalde mayor* showed more initiative. They improved the trail through the Sierra Bolaños in 1752, while connecting the town with the mines of La Playa downstream. They also ordered to dig ditches to contain the run-off from the mountains. In addition, the town developed plans to construct streets, a granary, and a prison, for which the locals raised 2,488 pesos. Basarte even suggested establishing a separate jurisdiction for Bolaños, with a *corregidor* and a municipal council. Finally, Basarte announced

<sup>73</sup> Revillagigedo to Arriaga, Mexico City, 12 Apr. 1755, AGI, Guadalajara 89; according to report of Joaquín Antonio Cortillas and Santiago Abad, Mexico City, 12 Sept. 1757, AGI, Escribanía 246 A, cuaderno 5, fols. 5–12, the treasury gathered 1,230,002 pesos.

<sup>74</sup> Three letters written by Juan Atanasio de Cervantes on behalf of Antonio de Mier, agent for Diego Mijares, no date, AGI, Guadalajara 115, exp. 1, testimonio de los autos; see also Revillagigedo to Arriaga, Mexico City, 12 Apr. 1755, AGI, Guadalajara 89; Carbajal López, *La minería en Bolaños*, 75–76. Francisco de Echazarreta and his brothers-in-law José Arribarerojo, Juan Francisco de Fera, Francisco Brena, and Diego Mijares, worked as mine operators in Bolaños and provided Revillagigedo with ammunition against Castillo de Ayza and Basarte, although in the informe del Conde de Revillagigedo, Mexico City, 2 Oct. 1755, in de la Torre Villar, *Instrucciones*, vol. 2, 863–864, Revillagigedo sharply criticized Arribarerojo. According to López Miramontes, *Las Minas*, 14–15; 23–27, Francisco Javier de Uribarren and José García de Malavear also wrote reports about Bolaños, which Revillagigedo requested for use in the royal mining cabinet.

<sup>75</sup> Revillagigedo to Arriaga, Mexico City, 12 Apr. 1755, ACR 455; title, Mexico City, 7 Nov. 1754, AGN, Provincias Internas 129, fols. 176–183.

that all land owners had to have their purchases confirmed and pay the *media anata* tax to improve roads and buildings.<sup>76</sup>

Yet it was too late. Revillagigedo wrested Bolaños from the *audiencia* of Guadalajara and the *alcalde mayor* of Jerez de la Frontera on November 7, 1754. Revillagigedo also abolished the post of the captain protector of the Indians and instead appointed a new *corregidor* for Bolaños, whose jurisdiction spanned from the Indian settlement Huilacitlan in the north to the mines of Santa Rosa de Albuquerque in the south. Revillagigedo appointed his wife's distant relative, the attorney Diego José Gorospe Padilla, for this position. Gorospe Padilla received an impressive salary of 2,000 pesos annually, more than any other *alcalde mayor* or *corregidor* in New Spain save for the *corregidor* of Mexico City. Ensenada confirmed the choice.<sup>77</sup> Revillagigedo added slyly that he did not really seize any territory from Guadalajara. In fact, that *audiencia* continued to hear criminal appeals, losing only the jurisdiction in matters of settlement, tax collection, economics, government, mines, and supply. The president also continued to serve as the vice-patron of the church. In addition, the *corregimiento* would revert to Guadalajara within eight to ten years, Revillagigedo added.<sup>78</sup> An exchange of letters shows how much power Basarte lost in the district. Basarte asked the treasurer to describe the machinations of an attorney in Mexico City, who tarnished Basarte's honor. The treasurer replied to Basarte that he "is most mortified not to be able to comply with your request."<sup>79</sup>

Once appointed, Gorospe Padilla went to task in Bolaños and created his own enemies. He coaxed the locals to form a militia and inspected the mines to assess their wealth and potential tax yield. Gorospe Padilla also advanced the construction of an adit to drain water out of the Zapopan and Montañesa mines. The owners of the top mines, however, objected, because water tended to run out of their pits into the lower sections anyway. They also operated mule-driven lifts to remove water and began litigating over their contributions. In addition, Gorospe Padilla appointed two guards to protect the adit and ensure that no one shaved ore from the pillars in the tunnels. The miners resented that they had to pay the guards' salaries.

<sup>76</sup> Deputy *alcalde mayor* Juan Rodríguez Landeros to Basarte, Bolaños, 21 Apr. 1752; presidential decree, Guadalajara, 22 Apr. 1752, both documents in AGI, Guadalajara 107, Año de 1752. Testimonio de varios despachos, fols. 37–39; deputy *alcalde mayor* to Basarte, Bolaños, 4 May 1752, AGI, Guadalajara 107, Año de 1753. Testimonio de varios despachos, fol. 50–50v; Basarte to king, Guadalajara, 25 Feb. 1755, AGI, Guadalajara 89.

<sup>77</sup> Title, Mexico City, 7 Nov. 1754, AGN, Provincias Internas 129, fols. 176–183; Revillagigedo's decree, Mexico City, 7 Nov. 1754, in de la Torre Villar, *Instrucciones*, vol. 2, 851; Juan Zarascua's certification of Revillagigedo's appointment of 9 Dec. 1754, AGI, Escribanía 246 A, cuaderno 1, fol. 161; Castro Santa-Anna, *Diario*, 5: 71. See also Alfonso de Figueroa y Melgar, *Estudio histórico sobre algunas familias españolas* (Madrid: Escuelas Profesionales del Sagrado Corazón, 1970), 4: 74; Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence 1780–1826* (Austin, Texas: Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas at Austin, 1976), 198.

<sup>78</sup> Revillagigedo to Arriaga, Mexico City, 12 Apr. 1755, ACR 455; Revillagigedo's decree, Mexico City, 7 Nov. 1754, in de la Torre Villar, *Instrucciones*, vol. 2, 850–851.

<sup>79</sup> Pedro Toral Valdes to Basarte, Bolaños, 6 Feb. 1755, AGI, Guadalajara 89.



At that point, Revillagigedo stepped in and approved charging the miners for the adit but dismissed the guards.<sup>80</sup>

Gorospe Padilla also caused a stir with his ambitious building plans. He found the terrain for proposed municipal building inadequate, because the river threatened to flood the site and the plot was too small to house the jail. Gorospe Padilla instead chose a blighted hacienda on the main square, canceled a sales contract with a prospective buyer, called on two experts to appraise the building, paid for it and tore it down. Soon construction on the council building began, including a place for the *corregidor*, “a jail, a butchery, storage for grain and corn, which arrive abundantly in the town,” and even “an inn for those who occupy the stores and storage with their produce.”<sup>81</sup> In addition, a church with two naves went up on the main square with an attached cemetery. The owner of the adjacent properties refused to sell them to the bishop or Gorospe Padilla. Eventually Gorospe Padilla sequestered and razed the buildings, containing “a small room where a Black cook is living, and two very small stores and a small house composed of one hall and two tiny rooms.”<sup>82</sup> Gorospe Padilla also convinced a resident to donate a house “to cure the mine workers ... with two friars, a physician, a surgeon, and an apothecary’s shop.” The *fiscal* in Madrid welcomed the new hospital as long as the friars did not seize control.<sup>83</sup>

Gorospe Padilla also abhorred the way in which the multitude of people lived in makeshift homes near the mines. They participate in “forbidden gambling as there are playing cards, bowling, and others ... and especially the women have not given their Easter confessions of the Holy Church.” In addition, many lived in “*zacate* [dried grass] huts or wooden tile sheds made without order or rule, exposing the mines to voracious fires.” The previous year a blaze raged among the dwellings and reached the Perla mine, causing damages of 10,000 pesos. In the past, Gorospe Padilla’s predecessors had “climbed up to administer justice on the mountain,” and the inhabitants “drove them away throwing stones.” Yet Gorospe Padilla convinced the people to abandon the shanty town and settle near the river in Bolaños, where the civil and ecclesiastical authorities better controlled them.<sup>84</sup> In addition, the treasury officials be-

<sup>80</sup> Viceregal decree, Mexico City, 4 Sept. 1755, AGN, General de Parte (hereinafter abbreviated as GdP) 41, exp. 90; viceregal decree, hacienda de los Tepetates, 27 Oct. 1755, AGN, GdP 41, exp. 99; *Instrucción militar*, Mexico City, 28 Nov. 1754, in de la Torre Villar, *Instrucciones*, vol. 2, 860–861; see also Carbajal López, *La minería en Bolaños*, 86.

<sup>81</sup> Viceregal decree, Mexico City, 11 Aug. 1755, AGN, GdP 41, exp. 87, stating that the hacienda owner was Francisco Xavier de Uribarren, who had earlier opposed Castillo de Ayza.

<sup>82</sup> Report of [probably] Revillagigedo’s legal adviser, Mexico City, 6 Aug. 1755; see also Gorospe Padilla to Revillagigedo, Bolaños, 18 July 1755, AGN, both documents in AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, 2711, exp. 6, fols. 21v–23v, fol. 21–21v; viceregal decree, Mexico City, 11 Aug. 1755, AGN, GdP 41, exp. 86; Amarillas’ decree, Mexico City, 24 Dec. 1755, AGN, GdP 41, exp. 101.

<sup>83</sup> Amarillas to king, Mexico City, 26 Oct. 1756; *parecer* of the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, 8 July 1757, Madrid, both documents in AGI, Guadalajara 89.

<sup>84</sup> Viceregal decree, Mexico City, 6 Aug. 1755, AGN, GdP 41, exp. 85, referring to the *precepto anual*, the annual obligation to confess and participate in communion during Easter.

gan charging an additional liquor tax on the brandy distilled in Santa María de Parras. They collected 4 pesos per barrel on top of the regular *alcabala* [excise tax] levied on all goods.<sup>85</sup>

The tax hike was not popular, and even the royal officials, who were beholden to Revillagigedo, began to resent Gorospe Padilla's moves. When Gorospe Padilla created and sold the positions of the municipal councilors, the treasury officials demanded to have preference in seating at all public functions, yet Revillagigedo dictated that the royal officials follow the council members.<sup>86</sup> The royal officials also complained that Gorospe Padilla moved into the treasurer's home. The treasurer and his family already shared the place with the accountant, but Gorospe Padilla refused to move out, as long as the town hall was incomplete.<sup>87</sup>

The mood against the new administration of Bolaños shifted and Basarte demanded to return the jurisdiction to Guadalajara's authority. Basarte argued that while robbery and murder had reigned in the west, Bolaños had remained "well provisioned with corn, meats, and the necessity of human life, including ample and comfortable entry and exit roads ... the most orderly place of the realm." Then Revillagigedo seized the town, "oppressing the settlers with the *sisá* [wine] tax and other intolerable measures and so burdened these unhappy and poor people who have to go about 200 leagues to appeal any injustices ... though they do not expect any relief for their damages, because they are fully aware of the close family bonds between the vicereine and the *corregidor*." Basarte also lamented his own "embarrassment, because my efforts have been frustrated ... and the public slight to my office caused by the scandal."<sup>88</sup>

Revillagigedo nonetheless continued to receive backing from the court in Madrid until the fall of the government. Ensenada's *oficial mayor*, for example, confided in Revillagigedo that they would find a proper response to Basarte's "insolent answer given to Your Excellency ... so that Your Excellency work with all authority in financial matters."<sup>89</sup> Yet Ensenada fell in 1754 and Revillagigedo faced headwinds. In 1755 the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies still applauded Gorospe Padilla as a man of "character and integrity." Yet the *fiscal* could not see the advantages of supervising Bolaños from Mexico City. The nearest authorities should effectively govern the provinces without interference by others, the *fiscal* argued, recommending to return Bolaños to Guadalajara. In addition,

"the viceroy's aim has been to seize the jurisdiction over the mines of the district from the president of Guadalajara ... which he has tried before by hearing various matters in Zacatecas and Chihuahua and giving orders, which this Council has voided and declared in favor of the president of Guadalajara, deeming it nevertheless inappropriate that the current president owns parts of the mines and so does

<sup>85</sup> Three viceregal decrees, Mexico City, 4 July 1755, AGN, GdP 41, exp. 73, 74, 83; informe del conde de Revillagigedo, in de la Torre Villar, *Instrucciones*, vol. 2, 863–864.

<sup>86</sup> Diego Rangel y Viezma to Revillagigedo, no date; Revillagigedo's decree, Mexico City, 30 July 1755, both documents in AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 2711, exp. 6, fols. 17–18v.

<sup>87</sup> Pedro Toral de Valdes to Amarillas, Bolaños, 14 Feb. 1756, AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 2711, exp. 6, fols. 24–26v.

<sup>88</sup> Basarte to king, Guadalajara, 25 Feb. 1755, AGI, Guadalajara 89.

<sup>89</sup> José Banfi y Parrilla to Revillagigedo, Madrid, 4 Sept. 1751, ACR 388; see also Revillagigedo to Ensenada, Mexico City, 2 Apr. 1754, ACR 354.

the Marquis of el Castillo de Ayza, who served previously, although the laws prohibit the former from doing so ... while no legal impediment bars the latter from being a miner.”<sup>90</sup>

The crown issued a *royal cédula* returning the jurisdiction to Guadalajara on September 16, 1756. Yet the Marquis of Amarillas, Revillagigedo’s successor, temporarily suspended the order. Amarillas sent an inspector to Bolaños to substantiate the charges against Gorospe Padilla. Amarillas dismissed Gorospe Padilla in June 1757, although he had served only half a term, and appointed an interim *corregidor*. In 1759 the district returned to Guadalajara while the crown confirmed Amarillas’ appointee. The secretary of the Indies and the Council of the Indies resolved the issue in Guadalajara’s interest.<sup>91</sup>

## Conclusion

The viceroy often interfered in New Galicia in the mid-eighteenth century, resulting in part from the divisions among the Guadalajaran *audiencia* ministers. The former president Castillo de Ayza wielded great influence and convinced the Count of Fuenclara to detain Judge Calvo de la Puerta in Mexico City. The Count of Revillagigedo initially upheld the detention, but his relationship with Calvo de la Puerta improved subsequently, and Revillagigedo helped the judge to recover his standing. Revillagigedo also forcefully meddled in other affairs of New Galicia. In his view, the treasury officials colluded in tax evasion and demanded bribes from miners to distribute mercury, supported by the *audiencia* president. Revillagigedo tried to break the cozy relationship to raise tax revenue and spur Bolaños’s municipal growth. He ordered an inspection of the Guadalajaran treasury that revealed the embezzlement of almost 300,000 silver pesos. The following inspection of the mercury sale also unearthed irregularities, and the viceroy ultimately even dismissed the accountant Juan de Banfi y Villalobos for exacting bribes. In addition, Revillagigedo placed a loyal *corregidor* in Bolaños and seized much of New Galicia’s jurisdiction over the town. Finally, Revillagigedo called for suppressing the entire *audiencia*. When Ensenada fell in 1754, however, the *audiencia* survived and recovered Bolaños.

The frequent meddling of the viceroy shows that the pretorial *audiencia* of Guadalajara remained subordinate to New Spain in financial matters, as the laws of the Indies mandated. The relationship among these two realms differed from the ties of Quito to Peru, for example, which was largely marked by the viceroy’s absence. This indicates that the relationships of the realms among each other varied as did the ties of the metropolis with its overseas kingdoms. The Spanish empire was multi-tiered and composed of core kingdoms with their

<sup>90</sup> *Parecer* of the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 25 Oct. 1755, AGI, Guadalajara 89.

<sup>91</sup> Crown to Amarillas, Madrid, 31 Dec. 1759, AGN, RCO 79, exp. 30, fol. 3; Arriaga to Amarillas, Madrid, 11 June 1757, AGN, RCO 77, exp. 68, fol. 163–163v; Cajigal to *receptor* Toribio Gómez de Tagle, Mexico City, 3 July 1760, AGN, GdP 42, exp. 327, fol. 310–310v.

various dependent territories. The fall of Ensenada's government also demonstrates that the empire was not stagnant but in flux. For example, the next viceroy and the government in Madrid restored Guadalajara's jurisdiction over Bolaños.

In addition, Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper have recently reminded us that empires joined with select people of influence to stabilize rule in the dependent territories. In their view, the empire worked with local "people who had earlier been marginal and saw advantages in serving the victorious power," or it sent intermediaries "from the homeland – a settler or a functionary."<sup>92</sup> While this article focused less on indigenous people, it shows that Revillagigedo combined elements of these strategies, sending intermediaries to review the Guadalaran treasury and undermine one local power elite by allying with another. Revillagigedo awarded those who served him loyally and punished wayward ministers, including some belonging to his own network. Revillagigedo's micropolitics furthered his influence in New Galicia and attained results during the treasury inspections.

## Appendix

Figure 1.

Judge Fernando de Urrutia's Letter to Judge Sebastián Calvo de la Puerta

<p>Dilectissime tibi soli sub sigilo</p> <p>Quem sus Auditorem ex Guatemalensi in hanc (a fama est) civitatem et senatum venturum, subtili ingenio, et amico foedere benevolum, et gratum habebis.</p> <p>A sub singulo nostro in literarum, et agendarum causarum procinctu commilitans, nobis copuletur consortio, ita enim aduersariorum (qui ni fallor non solum desiderio, Verum etiam Vescebiris ad eorum congressum et comitatum arripere conantur) sedula divitione prevenimus Machinossum intentum;</p>	<p>Dearest, sealed and solely for you and</p> <p>You will make the judge from Guatemala, who (rumor has it) will soon come to this city and court, inclined and grateful through your subtle character and by friendly agreement.</p> <p>Once he fights with us battle-ready in writing and in actions, he will be joined with us in company. This way we will forestall the wary marquis, notwithstanding the enemies' busy distribution of wealth (about which I am not mistaken nor do I wish them, because they seek to tie in Verus and Vescebiris into their meetings and company).</p>
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<sup>92</sup> Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, "The Empire Effect," *Public Culture* 24, no. 2 (2012): 239–247; though this is a well-established theme in Latin American history, see, for example, Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, "Redes sociales y oficios de justicia en Indias. Los vínculos de dos alcaldes mayores neogallegos," *Relaciones* 132 bis, 33 (2012): 109–150; Juan Luis Castellano and Jean-Pierre Dedieu, eds., *Réseaux, familles et pouvoirs dans le monde ibérique à la fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: CNRS, 1998); Stuart Schwartz, *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil. The High Court of Bahia and its Judges, 1609–1751* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

<p>et si (ut accidere potest) eos in nos irruere intenturos mucrone, nos etiam in eos defentionis scuto, racula retro agredi, ipsis contudentibus, ubi iterum retudentibus valeamus:</p> <p>necesse est ut erga illum prebeas proclivem, obsequentem, et beneficum, en sicut hactenus de insens etiam, crusiatum et flagitium coadunatis auxiliis patiamur:</p> <p>De cors imperandi cupiditas, eos (meo videri) magne opere comitatur, qua propter, nostra interest, aduerse voluntatis vinculum, facta legali, que et non aliter, intentione in bonum (ut decet) finem irrumpere, et sic damnum ab ante actis minaretum timendum que profligare possimus.</p> <p>Vale Señoría</p> <p>Posthec scripta notum mihi quidam amicitia coniunctus fecit (et procomperto est) Marquionem se alterum Alexandrum. Liberalem presentem obtulisse auditoris matri alio tempore egestatis nebula incognite, pecuniam, et quitquot sufiseret, ut nessesitatibus occurreret; et unus quisque sociorum eius, quantum eorum facultates suppetunt, et expostulant, obtulere:</p> <p>Quorsum hec? Nisi ut acomitatu nostro adigant Auditorem Venturum? Quem nessesese est educere de eventibus et fine quo illius animum alligere intendunt, ita enim cum venisti factum est, sed vidimus per a casum favoris occasum.</p> <p>“Sepe” sepicus de hoc educe illum, ut instructus in peragendis negotiis, itineris anfractum caute evadat, et prudenti filo labirinti extricabiles melus efugere possit. Nec omnia fac caute, secure et sine periculo publicande in posterum intentionis.</p>	<p>And if they intend to attack us fiercely (as it may well happen), then we have a shield in our defense and can begin to counter-attack, and after we have subdued them, we can restrain them again.</p> <p>It is therefore necessary that you conduct yourself towards him in a well-disposed, complying, and generous manner, and that we can painlessly suffer torment and beatings by uniting forces.</p> <p>It seems to me that the heart’s yearning to rule is accompanied by great deeds, and it is in our interest to stymie the bond of ill will through legal actions or, if not, through good intentions (as it behooves us), so we can cope with the impending and feared damages.</p> <p>Good bye, Your Lordship.</p> <p>After writing this, I was told (and assured) that the marquis and the other Alexander cultivate a certain friendship—having generously offered the judge’s mother money for the remainder of her penury, anonymously and as much as she needed and would have been necessary. And he offered each of his confederates as much as their faculties could assist them and they demanded it.</p> <p>For which purpose? Will they not throng to the arriving judge unless we accompany him? It is necessary to educate him about the events and the goal, with which they intend to bind his soul. This will already have happened by the time you arrive, but perhaps we see the decline of favor.</p> <p>Teach him so that he is initiated in the important matters and may avoid the crooked road and can escape from the solvable labyrinth smartly and better with a thread. Do everything cautiously, securely, and avoiding the danger that our intention becomes public.</p>
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Source: Fernando de Urrutia to Calvo de la Puerta, attached in Calvo de la Puerta to king, Mexico City, 16 Dec. 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 106. It is unknown whom the “other Alexander” and “Verus and Vescebiris” refer to.



Figure 2.  
The *Audiencia* of Guadalajara during Revillagigedo's Viceroyalty

Minister	Revillagigedo's view of the minister	Background	Relation with Castillo de Ayza	Sources
<b>Presidents</b>				
Marquis of el Castillo de Ayza (1738–1743)		Guadalajara, <i>beneficio</i> (purchase of his appointment)		Valcárcel to king, 1 Apr. 1748, AGI, México 1657
Fermín de Echevers y Amezcuá (1743–1750)	“lack of talent”	Guadalajara, <i>beneficio</i> of 24,000 pesos de a 10 reales de plata	Left for Aguascalientes for one year, reconciled with <i>audiencia</i> ; fought with José Basarte	Castro Santa-Ana, <i>Diario</i> , 4:75; <i>audiencia</i> 's edict, Guadalajara, 2 June 1752; Melgarejo's edict, Guadalajara, 7 June 1752, both AHN, Consejos 21003, fols. 9–15, 25, 40
José Basarte (1750–1758)	“less qualified than his predecessor”	Navarra, <i>beneficio</i> of 23,000 pesos paid by Castillo de Ayza. Obtained royal permit to marry in 1754	Castillo de Ayza's son-in-law	dispensation, Madrid, 29 Nov. 1754, AGI Guadalajara 82; <i>título</i> , Buen Retiro, 13 March 1750
<b>Oidores (judges)</b>				
Juan Carrillo Moreno (1734–1742)		Initially demoted from <i>audiencia</i> of Mexico to Guadalajara, then assigned to House of Trade	enemy of Castillo de Ayza	<i>Cámara of the Indies</i> , 1 Oct. 1733, AGI, Escribanía 402 A; Burkholder and Chandler, <i>Audiencia Ministers</i> , 73
José Antonio Cavallero, dean of the <i>audiencia</i> (1734–1752)	“old, paralyzed, and incapacitated”	From Castile, resigned in 1752	<i>compadre</i> of Castillo de Ayza, fought against Echevers y Amezcuá	Calvo de la Puerta to king, San Juan de Ulúa, 17 Nov. 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 98

Minister	Revillagigedo's view of the minister	Background	Relation with Castillo de Ayza	Sources
Martín de Blancas y Espeleta (1734–1754)	Would have “insufficient quality for the Council” of the Indies	Spaniard, <i>colegial</i> of Salamanca, disciplinary transfer from Santo Domingo, married daughter of a Mexican <i>audiencia</i> minister	ally of Castillo de Ayza	
Sebastián Calvo de la Puerta (1740–1743), <i>alcalde de crimen</i> of Mexico since 1755	“lively, brazen, and inclined to all forms of entertainment”	Havana, <i>beneficio</i> of 8,000 pesos, suspended in 1743	Became enemy of Castillo de Ayza	
José Manuel de la Garza Falcón, <i>supernumerary</i> (24 September 1750–)		He and his wife were from Guadalajara, <i>beneficio</i> of 14,350 pesos		Garza Falcón to king, Guadalajara, 24 Sept. 1751; <i>título</i> , Buen Retiro, 23 Jan. 1750, AGI, Guad. 106
Francisco Gómez Algarin (1749–1772)		Born in Spain, raised in Mexico, <i>beneficio</i> of 13,000 pesos, married to a <i>novohispana</i>		<i>Audiencia</i> to king, Guadalajara, 10 Apr. 1755, AGI, Guadalajara 89
Francisco López Portillo (1748–1764), <i>super-numerary</i> , acting <i>fiscal</i>		Guadalajara, <i>regidor</i> in Guatemala City, <i>beneficio</i> of 11,000–16,000 pesos		María (anonymous) to Calvo de la Puerta, Guadalajara, 23 May 1748, AGI, Guadalajara 106

Minister	Revillagigedo's view of the minister	Background	Relation with Castillo de Ayza	Sources
Juan Aparicio Manzano, <i>fiscal</i> (1743–1752, 1754–?)	“judicious, prudent, honorable, and orderly in his proceedings”	Havana, <i>beneficio</i> of 4,000 doubloons; license to marry a local for 4,000 pesos in 1746; removed in 1752 for arresting a merchant; reinstated in 1754		<i>Real cédula</i> , Madrid, 4 Oct. 1746, AGN, RCO 66, exp. 82; Revillagigedo to Ensenada, 10 Apr. 1747, ACR 399; Goyeneche to Revillagigedo, 23 Dec. 1754, AGN, RCO 74, exp. 97
Miguel José de Rojas Almansa, <i>fiscal</i> (1754–)		no <i>beneficio</i>	married Felipa de Ayza, Castillo de Ayza's daughter, in 1759	<i>Consulta</i> of the <i>cámara</i> , Madrid, 20 Sept. 1752, AGI, Guadalajara, 82
Dr. Francisco Galindo Quiñones (1755– 1773)		Andalusia, no <i>beneficio</i>	supported Revillagigedo in <i>residencia</i>	<i>Papeleta de México</i> , 18 Dec. 1756, ACR 360

Further Sources: AGI, México 1506, no. 40, 109; AGN, RCO 66, exp. 82; *título*, Buen Retiro, 13 March 1750; *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 25 Aug. 1752; *título*, Madrid, 25 Sept. 1754, all in AGI, Guadalajara 82; Burkholder and Chandler, *Audiencia Ministers*, 49, 65–66, 139, 185–6, 298; Vicente Cadenas y Vicent, *Caballeros de la orden de Santiago. Siglo xviii* (Madrid: Ediciones Hidalguía, 1979), 83, 266.

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